

## Message Text

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FROM WASHINGTON

TO AIG 6006, 6007

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POLITICAL ANALYSIS: THE USSR AND EUROPEAN COMMUNIST MEET-  
INGS: UNCERTAIN TRUMPETS

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: THE DIVERSE COMMENTARY FROM PARTICI-  
PANTS FOLLOWING THE WARSAW CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF EUROPEAN  
COMMUNIST PARTIES INDICATES THAT THE USSR IS NO CLOSER TO  
CONVENING ANOTHER WORLD CONFERENCE AND THAT EVEN THE TIMING  
OF THE PAN-EUROPEAN MEETING MAY SLIP.

(A)--SOVIET COMMENT CLEARLY HARKS BACK TO THE VIRTUES OF  
"PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM" AND "JOINT ACTION PROGRAMS,"

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BUT IT IS DONE DISCREETLY TO AVOID OFFENDING SUCH INDE-  
PENDENT MEMBERS OF THE MOVEMENT AS ROMANIA, YUGOSLAVIA,  
AND THE ITALIAN AND FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTIES.

(B)--THE HUNGARIANS, ON THE OTHER HAND, APPARENTLY HAVE

BEEN GIVEN THE TASK OF "SETTING THINGS STRAIGHT," AS WITNESS THEIR COMMENT THAT THE PRINCIPLE OF CONSENSUS AT A PAN-EUROPEAN MEETING MUST NOT "HAMPER THE JOINT ACTION OF THE DECISIVE MAJORITY."

(C)--THE ROMANIANS AND YUGOSLAVS, HOWEVER, ARE DRAGGING THEIR FEET, AND NEITHER BELGRADE NOR BUCHAREST WILL COMMIT ITSELF TO ATTEND FUTURE COMMUNIST MEETINGS.

(D)--THE SILENCE OF THE WEST EUROPEAN PARTIES SUGGESTS CONCERN THAT ANY COMMENT ON THEIR PART WILL EITHER COMPLICATE THEIR RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW OR PREJUDICE THEIR DOMESTIC PROSPECTS.

NOT ONLY HAVE THESE CONFLICTING REACTIONS ALREADY MADE MOSCOW'S TASK AT THE PROPOSED PAN-EUROPEAN MEETING MORE DIFFICULT, BUT THE RECENT CHINESE INITIATIVE TO CONCLUDE A NONAGGRESSION TREATY WITH THE USSR ADDS YET ANOTHER STUMBLING BLOCK TO MOSCOW'S EFFORTS TO ISOLATE THE CHINESE AT ANY FUTURE CONCLAVE. END SUMMARY.

2. WARSAW MEETING AS PRELUDE: PARTICIPANTS AT THE OCTOBER 16-18 CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES IN WARSAW AGREED ON THE NECESSITY OF PREPARING A PAN-EUROPEAN CONFERENCE DEDICATED TO THE "STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, SECURITY, COOPERATION, AND SOCIAL PROGRESS IN EUROPE." THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE, NEVERTHELESS, NOTED ONLY THE "DESIRE" FOR SUCH A CONFERENCE AND NOT A DECISION. MOSCOW STILL HOPES THAT THE ANTICIPATED GATHERING WILL REPEAT THE PATTERN SET IN THE 1960S, WHEN A MEETING OF EUROPEAN PARTIES IN KARLOVY VARY IN 1967 WAS EVENTUALLY FOLLOWED BY A WORLD MEETING IN 1969. UNFORTUNATELY FOR SOVIET AMBITIONS, THE PATH TO THAT GOAL TODAY MAY PROVE EVEN MORE TORTUOUS THAN IT WAS THEN.

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3. THE SOVIETS HAVE ALREADY BEEN OBLIGED TO ACCEPT ANOTHER PREPARATORY OR CONSULTATIVE MEETING, SCHEDULED FOR BUDAPEST FROM DECEMBER 18-21, WHEN THE AGENDA AND PROCEDURE FOR A PAN-EUROPEAN MEETING PRESUMABLY WILL BE DISCUSSED. FURTHERMORE, THERE ARE SUGGESTIONS THAT A THIRD SUCH MEETING MAY BE REQUIRED. THE SOVIETS ALSO RELUCTANTLY AGREED TO A SERIES OF SPECIAL SEMINARS TO DISCUSS EUROPEAN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES. THIS ACTIVITY--AS WELL AS THE SUBSEQUENT COMMENTARY BY THE WARSAW PARTICIPANTS--POINTS TO THE POSSIBILITY OF MORE SLIPPAGE IN THE TIMING OF THE PAN-EUROPEAN MEETING AND LENGTHENS THE DISTANCE THAT THE SOVIETS MUST TRAVEL

BEFORE GETTING THEIR WORLD CONFERENCE.

4. SOVIET IMAGE OF CONCILIATION AND COMPROMISE: THE USSR WAITED NEARLY TWO WEEKS BEFORE MAKING ITS OFFICIAL STATEMENT ON THE WARSAW MEETING. THE COMMENT--AN EDITORIAL IN PRAVDA ON OCTOBER 30--FOLLOWED THE MAIN LINES OF THE STATEMENT OF THE CHIEF SOVIET DELEGATE IN WARSAW, POLITBURO CANDIDATE MEMBER BORIS PONOMAREV, AND WAS CALCULATED TO REASSURE INDEPENDENT MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT THAT THEIR VIEWS WOULD BE HEARD AT A PAN-EUROPEAN CONFERENCE. THE ARTICLE ASSERTED THAT PARTY CONFERENCES MUST DEVELOP A "COMMON" LINE BASED ON FREE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, AND THAT CONFERENCE DOCUMENTS MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE RIGHT OF EACH PARTY TO "RAISE ANY PROBLEM THAT IT MAY DEEM NECESSARY."

5. NEVERTHELESS, THERE WERE SUGGESTIONS IN THE SOVIET COMMENT THAT MOSCOW IS NOT PREPARED TO ABANDON ALL OF ITS TRADITIONAL PERCEPTIONS OF THE ROLE OF THE MOVEMENT. DESPITE EMPHASIS ON DEMOCRATIC PROCEDURE, FOR EXAMPLE, THERE WAS GREAT STRESS ON "STRENGTHENING BY ALL POSSIBLE MEANS THE UNITY AND COHESION OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT." PRAVDA ALSO REPEATED PONOMAREV'S LANGUAGE ON THE IMPORTANCE OF THE GENERAL LINE TO BE FORMULATED AT A EUROPEAN CONFERENCE, A TACTIC THAT IS BOUND TO AROUSE RESISTANCE FROM MANY PARTIES.

6. CHINA A HINDRANCE IN MORE WAYS THAN ONE: THE PRAVDA ARTICLE ALSO CONTAINED A PASSAGE CRITICIZING THE CONCEPT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
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OF "EUROCENTRISM," A WARNING THAT THE USSR MAY BE HOPING TO DRAG THE CHINESE ISSUE INTO THE EUROPEAN CONFERENCE AT ONE STAGE OR ANOTHER. OTHER REFERENCES IN THE ARTICLE ALSO SUGGEST THAT MOSCOW INTENDS TO HOLD OPEN THE OPTION OF RAISING THE CONTROVERSIAL CHINA ISSUE.

7. THE CHINA ISSUE WAS FURTHER COMPLICATED SHORTLY AFTER THE WARSAW MEETING, WHEN PEKING SURFACED A PROPOSAL FOR DEALING WITH THE SINO-SOVIET BORDER DISPUTE THAT COULD AFFECT THE TIMING OF, AND LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION AT, FUTURE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MEETINGS. (THE PROPOSAL CALLED FOR A PACT WITH THE USSR RENOUNCING AGGRESSION AND THE USE OF FORCE, AND WITHDRAWING TROOPS FROM BORDER AREAS.) BY PUBLICIZING OSTENSIBLY ACCOMMODATING PROPOSALS AT THIS TIME, CHINA PROBABLY HOPED TO THROW A MONKEY WRENCH INTO MOSCOW'S EFFORTS TO ORGANIZE ANY PAN-EUROPEAN OR WORLD CONFERENCES, LET ALONE TO GARNER SUPPORT FOR PILLORYING PEKING.

8. A CASE IN POINT IS YUGOSLAVIA, WHICH REACTED MORE

FAVORABLY THIS TIME THAN IT DID LAST YEAR, WHEN MOSCOW

ADVANCED SIMILAR PROPOSALS. LAST YEAR, THE YUGOSLAVS ASSERTED THAT THE SOVIETS, IN GOING PUBLIC WITH THEIR OWN NONAGGRESSION PROPOSALS, WERE MERELY TRYING TO DISCREDIT CHINESE "ACCUSATIONS" AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION. THIS TIME, BELGRADE HAILED THE CHINESE INITIATIVE AS A POSSIBLE "TURNING POINT" IN SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS AND DID NOT QUESTION CHINESE MOTIVES FOR PUBLICIZING THE INITIATIVE. YUGOSLAVIA HAS THUS INDICATED THAT, IF THE SOVIETS FAIL TO RESPOND POSITIVELY, THEY WILL AT LEAST BE FORCED TO DEFEND THEIR STANCE WITHIN THE MOVEMENT.

9. AS IF TO COUNTER BELGRADE'S VIEWS, THE HUNGARIANS AND CZECHOSLOVAKS STEPPED IN TO MAKE LIGHT OF THE CHINESE INITIATIVE. THEIR REACTION SUGGESTS THAT MOSCOW, FOR THE MOMENT, IS CONCERNED TO PREVENT THE CHINESE INITIATIVE FROM BEING EXPLOITED BY THE YUGOSLAVS AND OTHER CRITICS OF THE SOVIET ATTITUDE TOWARD CHINA.

10. WORLD CONFERENCE MUST WAIT: IN ADDITION TO AVOIDING LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
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DIRECT MENTION OF CHINA, THE PRAVDA ARTICLE DID NOT REFER TO A WORLD COMMUNIST CONFERENCE, SUGGESTING THAT MOSCOW IS CURRENTLY INCLINED TO PUT THAT PROJECT ASIDE AND CONCENTRATE ON THE SIZABLE TASK OF PREPARING THE EUROPEAN CONFERENCE. MOSCOW'S ORTHODOX EAST EUROPEAN ALLIES ARE LIKEWISE AVOIDING THE SUBJECT OF A WORLD MEETING, WHEREAS THE EAST EUROPEANS HAD EARLIER LINKED A EUROPEAN MEETING TO A SUBSEQUENT WORLD CONFERENCE. PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU TOLD THE ROMANIAN PARTY CONGRESS ON NOVEMBER 25 THAT THE CONDITIONS FOR A CONFERENCE WERE NOT "RIPE," AND YUGOSLAVIA HAS STATED BLUNTLY THAT THE CONDITIONS WERE "ABSENT." KEY WEST EUROPEAN PARTIES REMAIN UNINTERESTED IN ANY WORLD MEETING THAT MIGHT SEEM TO TIGHTEN MOSCOW'S ORGANIZATIONAL AND IDEOLOGICAL CONTROLS OVER THEM, PARTICULARLY AT A TIME WHEN THEY ARE PREOCCUPIED WITH MENDING DOMESTIC FENCES.

11. STRIDENT TONE BY A STAUNCH ALLY: THE HUNGARIANS--WHO WERE THE FIRST WARSAW PACT MEMBERS TO CALL FOR A WORLD CONFERENCE--EXPRESSED IMPATIENCE WITH ANY NOTION THAT COMMUNIST MEETINGS COULD NOT ENHANCE UNITY IN THE MOVEMENT. THE HUNGARIAN PARTY DAILY NEPSZABADSAG ON OCTOBER 20 DECLARED THAT THE MEETING WOULD NOT BE DEFLECTED FROM EXPRESSING THE VIEWS OF THE MAJORITY WHETHER THE INDEPENDENT PARTICIPANTS LIKED IT OR NOT. THE ARTICLE ALSO RAISED THE PROSPECT OF A FINAL DOCUMENT AT THE PAN-EUROPEAN CONFERENCE THAT WOULD NOT BE WHOLLY ACCEPTABLE TO THE INDEPENDENTS, AND NOTED THAT THE PARTIES CAN "DECIDE FOR

THEMSELVES WHETHER THEY ACCEPT THE JOINTLY ELABORATED PROPOSALS AND DOCUMENTS."

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12. THIS ARTICLE WOULD APPEAR TO REVERSE THE UNORTHODOX REMARKS OF PARTY BOSS JANOS KADAR, WHO DISCUSSED THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN EARLY SEPTEMBER IN A SPEECH THAT WAS NOT PUBLISHED UNTIL SEVERAL DAYS BEFORE THE WARSAW MEETING. KADAR, WHO MAY HAVE BEEN PASSING ON THIS MESSAGE AT MOSCOW'S BEHEST, DECLARED THAT THERE IS "NO INSTITUTIONAL LEADING PARTY NOR IS IT NECESSARY THAT THERE SHOULD BE ONE" AND THAT "EACH PARTY MAY DECIDE FOR ITSELF AND ADOPT ITS OWN STAND INDEPENDENTLY." HIS REMARKS CERTAINLY WOULD  
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HAVE SERVED THE SOVIET PURPOSE OF ENSURING THE BROADEST POSSIBLE CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES. THE MORE RECENT ARTICLE IN NEPSZABADSAG NULLIFIES MUCH OF WHAT KADAR STATED EARLIER AND PROBABLY FORESHADOWS SOVIET INTENTIONS AT AN EVENTUAL PAN-EUROPEAN CONFERENCE.

13. ENDORSEMENTS BY BLOC PARTIES: THE POLISH PARTY WAS FIRST TO ENDORSE THE WARSAW MEETING WITH A POLITBURO STATEMENT, THE ONLY PARTY--OTHER THAN THE SOVIET--TO DO SO. THE STATEMENT EMPHASIZED THE "IMPORTANT DECISION" TO CONVENE A PAN-EUROPEAN MEETING AND APPROVED THE PARTY'S "ACTIVE PARTICIPATION" IN FURTHER PREPARATIONS FOR THE CONFERENCE. LIKE THE SOVIET POLITBURO STATEMENT, THERE WAS NO INDICATION OF WHEN THE CONFERENCE WOULD TAKE PLACE AND NO REFERENCE TO THE ONE, OR POSSIBLY TWO, PREPARATORY MEETINGS THAT MAY BE REQUIRED.

14. THE STATEMENTS OF BOTH THE EAST GERMAN AND CZECHOSLOVAK DELEGATIONS AT WARSAW WERE BLAND AND THE SUBSEQUENT COMMENTARY FROM THESE PARTIES WAS THE SAME. IN AVOIDING ANY INTERPRETATION OR EDITORIALIZING, BOTH CZECHS AND EAST GERMANS IMPLY THAT THEY ARE GOING ALONG WITH THE SOVIET EFFORT TO MAINTAIN HARMONY ABOUT FUTURE COMMUNIST MEETINGS AND TO ENSURE THAT THE EVENTUAL PAN-EUROPEAN CONCLAVE WILL BE A "MAJOR INTERNATIONAL EVENT," THE THEME OF THE STATEMENT BY SOVIET DELEGATE PONOMAREV.

15. FOOT-DRAGGING IN THE BALKANS: HAVING HEDGED THEIR PARTICIPATION AT WARSAW WITH A MULTITUDE OF CAVEATS, THE FOLLOWUP COMMENTARY BY YUGOSLAV AND ROMANIAN SOURCES INDICATES THAT THE TWO PARTIES WERE PLEASED WITH THEIR EFFORTS AND WITH THE OUTCOME OF THE MEETING. BOTH PUBLISHED EXTENSIVE AND GENERALLY POSITIVE COMMENTARIES ON THE MEETING, EXPRESSING PARTICULAR SATISFACTION FOR THE ABSENCE OF ANY MENTION OF CHINA AND FOR THE OSTENSIBLE ADHERENCE TO THE PRINCIPLE OF DECISIONMAKING BY CONSENSUS.

THE TENOR OF THE ARTICLES INDICATES, HOWEVER, THAT BOTH  
BELGRADE AND BUCHAREST INTEND TO CONTINUE PRESSING THEIR

WELL-KNOWN VIEWS ON THE EQUALITY AND INDEPENDENCE OF ALL  
PARTIES JUST AS ENERGETICALLY AS IN THE PAST.

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16. THE YUGOSLAVS AND ROMANIANS CONTINUE TO TAKE THE  
POSITION THAT EACH PARTY HAS THE RIGHT TO DECIDE FOR  
ITSELF "FREELY AND AT THE PROPER TIME" WHETHER TO ATTEND  
FUTURE INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS. THE HEAD OF THE ROMANIAN  
DELEGATION, STEFAN ANDREI, ADDED THAT NONATTENDANCE SHOULD  
NOT BE CONSIDERED PREJUDICIAL TO RELATIONS BETWEEN  
PARTIES; HIS REMARKS WERE REPEATED IN THE YUGOSLAV PRESS.  
SURPRISINGLY, HOWEVER, A SLOVENIAN NEWSPAPER INDICATED ON  
OCTOBER 26 THAT THE SPIRIT OF THE UPCOMING PAN-EUROPEAN  
GATHERING IS SUFFICIENTLY DIFFERENT FROM PAST MEETINGS TO  
PERMIT BELGRADE'S PARTICIPATION. THE "SPIRIT OF WARSAW,"  
ACCORDING TO THIS ITEM, PROMISES "LESS DANGER THAT THE  
CONFERENCE COULD DEVELOP INTO A KIND OF IDEOLOGICAL COURT  
TRIAL."

17. SILENCES AMONG WEST EUROPEAN PARTIES: MOST WEST  
EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES HAVE FAILED TO COMMENT ON THE  
WARSAW MEETING. THEIR SILENCE IS PUZZLING, PARTICULARLY  
IN VIEW OF THE WARSAW COMMUNIQUE'S EMPHASIS ON THE NON-  
CONTENTIOUS CHARACTER OF THE PROCEEDINGS. CERTAINLY  
PONOMAREV'S STATEMENT ALLAYED WEST EUROPEAN FEARS THAT  
MOSCOW MIGHT USE THE OCCASION TO ATTACK THE CHINESE OR  
CALL FOR A WORLD CONFERENCE. EVEN THE SOVIET EFFORT TO  
WIN SUPPORT FOR AGREEMENT ON A JOINT ACTION PROGRAM AT  
THE PROPOSED EUROPEAN CONFERENCE WAS COUCHED IN CONSENSUAL  
LANGUAGE TO DEFUSE WEST EUROPEAN FEARS OF SOVIET DICTATION  
TO OTHER PARTIES.

18. EXCEPT FOR THE CUSTOMARY DECLARATIONS OF APPROVAL BY  
STAUNCHLY PRO-SOVIET PARTIES IN AUSTRIA AND LUXEMBOURG,  
THE ABSENCE OF COMMENTARY BY THE KEY NONRULING PARTIES  
INVITES SPECULATION. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THEIR SILENCE  
REFLECTS SATISFACTION WITH THE OUTCOME OF THE WARSAW  
MEETING AND AN AWARENESS THAT ENDORSEMENT OF THE SOVIET  
POSITION MIGHT FAN DISTRUST OF THE PARTIES IN THEIR OWN  
COUNTRIES. THEREFORE, THEY MAY HAVE OPTED FOR SILENCE IN  
THE HOPE OF MINIMIZING DAMAGE TO THEIR DOMESTIC SITUATIONS.

19. PROSPECTS: THE WARSAW COMMUNIQUE ITSELF WAS A COM-  
PROMISE DOCUMENT THAT FAILED TO GIVE A PRECISE PROGRAM

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FOR THE PAN-EUROPEAN MEETING, LET ALONE PROMOTE A WORLD CONFERENCE. SOVIET COMMENTARY STILL HAS NOT MENTIONED THAT THERE HAS TO BE AT LEAST ONE MORE PREPARATORY SESSION BEFORE A PAN-EUROPEAN CONCLAVE CAN BE RECONVENED, AND THERE HAS BEEN NO PRESS BUILD-UP FOR THE NEXT PREPARATORY

MEETING, WHICH IS SUPPOSED TO TAKE PLACE IN BUDAPEST NEXT WEEK. THERE HAS BEEN A SIMILAR DEARTH OF COMMENT ON THE SEMINAR TO BE HELD IN YUGOSLAVIA THAT IS SUPPOSED TO DISCUSS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ISSUES.

20. IN ADDITION TO THE PROBLEMS DEMONSTRATED AT THE WARSAW MEETING, THE CHINESE INITIATIVE HAS ADDED STILL ANOTHER OBSTACLE ON THE PATH TO A PAN-EUROPEAN MEETING. AT THE SAME TIME, THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP SEEMS TO BE MORE CONCERNED WITH HAVING AS MANY PARTIES AS POSSIBLE ATTEND FURTHER COMMUNIST MEETINGS RATHER THAN WITH HAVING ITS WAY ON IDEOLOGICAL ISSUES. MOSCOW MAY WISH TO SEE THE CHINESE PILLORIED AND TO HAVE ITS PREEMINENCE OPENLY ACKNOWLEDGED, BUT REALIZES THAT AGREEMENT ON EITHER ONE OF THESE GOALS CANNOT BE ACHIEVED WITHOUT UNWANTED DISRUPTIONS TO THE UNITY OF THE MOVEMENT. SISCO

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